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## EGYPTIAN MORALS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

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### I. INTRODUCTION

THIS and the succeeding articles on Egyptian Morals will be so arranged as to assume what has been shown in JSOR 2, 3-28, to have been the state of morals in Early Egypt. The introductory discussion of the content of morals, and the method used in the investigation of Egyptian morals, as found in the aforesaid article, will also be assumed in this essay. The reader is, therefore, referred to the above-named article on Egyptian Morals as well as to those on Sumerian Morals (JSOR 1, 47-85), Early Babylonian Morals (JSOR 2, 55-75), and Morals of Israel (*Anglican Theological Review*, 1, 24-42; 288-303). In order to avoid needless repetition, only those elements, in the moral life of the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom, which differ from those of the Old Kingdom, or which were not revealed by the literature of the early period, are particularly emphasized. It will be assumed that the moral life of the Middle Kingdom was a development of that of the Old Kingdom. Repetition will occur only where it will be necessary to a connected discussion.

The sources used in this study are similar to those used in the article on "Early Egyptian Morals," except that, for this period, the literature has been more extensive. Only contemporaneous sources have been used.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For abbreviations in this article, see JSOR 2, 4, n. 1. Others are: EGL = A. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, Berlin, 1896; P-H = B. Gunn, *The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep*,

London, 1912. (Text in E. A. W. Budge, *An Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1896; G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1911.)

The Middle Kingdom includes the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Dynasties, from 2160 to 1580 B.C.

## II. MORAL MATERIALS

### 1. *Family Virtues and Vices*

The Egyptian family was the unit in social life, and had its prototype in the life of the gods. Marriage normally consisted in the union of one man with one woman, but there were exceptions to this. The pharaoh not only had his queen, but he also possessed a harem (*hnt*, *hnrt*) as well. Daughters of good Egyptian families were often found among the foreign beauties composing the royal harem. It is also certain, though the evidence is limited, that polygamy was regularly practiced by others than the pharaoh. There are stelas of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties which show the custom in full swing, and corroborate what was assumed for the Old Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Egyptian family life, as represented in the sources, was rather ideal. A commonly expressed wish was that a man may be happily reunited with his whole family in the next world.<sup>3</sup> And that was not merely a pious wish, for there is evidence that in this life the average Egyptian was an affectionate husband and father.<sup>4</sup> He was taught to be good and considerate to his wife,<sup>5</sup> wife-slander being particularly abhorred.<sup>6</sup> Parents' love for their children and desire for their success were very common,<sup>7</sup> though the birch was applied whenever necessary,<sup>8</sup> and an undutiful son was disowned,<sup>9</sup> but, as Ptah-Hotep taught, "a good son is the gift of God,"<sup>10</sup> and a "splendid thing is the obedience of an obedient son."<sup>11</sup> It was the son's duty to make his father's name live on earth.<sup>12</sup> After the death of the parents, children took much pleasure in erecting monuments to their memory. This was especially the task of the eldest son.<sup>13</sup> The dif-

<sup>2</sup> A. Moret, *Galerie Égyptienne (Annales du Musée Guimet, xxxii)*, Paris, 1909, C7, C11.

<sup>3</sup> J. Baillet, "La Réunion de la Famille dans les Enfers Égyptiens," *JA* 1904, 307-329.

<sup>4</sup> A. Erman, *Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen (Hermitage Papyrus 1115)*, ZAS 43, 17.

<sup>5</sup> P-H § 21.      <sup>6</sup> EGL, xxvi.

<sup>7</sup> Moret, *op. cit.*, C5; BAR, I, 693.

<sup>8</sup> P-H § 12.

<sup>9</sup> BAR, I, 659.

<sup>10</sup> P-H § 43.

<sup>11</sup> P-H § 38.

<sup>12</sup> Moret, *op. cit.* C5; NBH, Tomb 3.

<sup>13</sup> B. Poertner, *Die ägyptischen Totenstelen*, Paderborn, 1911, pp. 21, 22.



ferent members of the family were very loyal to one another, although there were exceptions.<sup>14</sup>

A man's heir was his son, to whom very often his official standing was bequeathed; but property could be left to a wife, who was given the right to distribute it to any of her children born to the maker of the will.<sup>15</sup>

Although no evidence was found for the existence of divorce in the early Egyptian period, the custom was probably known, for in the Middle Kingdom it is casually referred to as a well-known use.<sup>16</sup> The idea of divorce was never abhorrent to the Egyptian mind, as far as can be discovered. It was a right which was necessary to the well-being of society, and this is illustrated by the very word which was used to express the idea, namely, *wḏā*, divorce, which means "to make right."

## 2. Social Virtues and Vices

The constitution of Middle Kingdom society was based upon that of the Old Kingdom, except that the nomarchs, or barons, had become more influential and independent. The relation between the king and these barons is so similar to that which obtained in Europe at one time that the Middle Kingdom has been called the feudal age. Each district or nome had its own nomarch, who was chief and high priest in one. He was responsible to the pharaoh, but the pharaoh could not reach the people except through the nomarch.

Amenemhet I, one of the most powerful kings of the Middle Kingdom, tried to centralize and destroy the power of the nomarchs,<sup>17</sup> but without much success. In fact, rebellion was threatened, and the spirit of revolution and tumult brought about much social unrest. A writer of that stormy period called it a time when "righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the council-hall."<sup>18</sup> Men had become conscious of grave social wrongs, and made a determined effort to bring about social righteousness.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, 193.

<sup>15</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London, 1890 (The Hieratic Papyri of Kahun).

<sup>16</sup> F. Vogelsang und A. H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*, Leipzig, 1908, 10, 1. 62. <sup>17</sup> LD, II, 124.

<sup>18</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, Appendix. <sup>19</sup> EGL, *passim*.

For the Old Kingdom there was not found much evidence of the status of the middle classes. In this respect the remains of the Middle Kingdom have not left us in the dark. The famous cemetery at Abydos has preserved the tombs of many non-titled persons of the Middle Kingdom as well as those of many tradesmen who were neither serfs of high lords nor officials of the state. This with what we know of society in the Old Kingdom rounds out the constitution of early Egyptian society, as consisting of three classes: (1) the king and the nobility; (2) lower officials; and (3) laborers, peasants, and slaves.

The interesting story of the Eloquent Peasant<sup>20</sup> throws interesting light upon the social scale of the Middle Kingdom, and upon the comparative ease with which the meanest peasant, oppressed by an official just above the rank of peasant, could effectively appeal to the Grand Steward of the king, and through him to the pharaoh himself.

The pharaoh, as the head of society, was the link between gods and men. He himself was the son, protector, and heir of the gods;<sup>21</sup> and as such was known as "the living god . . . who lives upon truth every day." He was the source of all righteousness, for he was the "Lord of Right," and "Opener of Justice," and boasted that he "established righteousness and expelled evil,"<sup>22</sup> Amenemhet I, in his instructions to his son,<sup>23</sup> has given us an excellent picture of what the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom thought of the duties of a king. Amenemhet himself was a reformer, his motto being to "set right that which he found ruined." He boasts that he "gave to the beggar," and "nourished the orphan," and advises his son to follow his example, treating high and low alike. But at the same time he warns his son against unnecessary weakness, and advises him to "learn to stand alone and not to depend upon others who may act treacherously;" and in the same strain he goes so far as to say that circumstances will be such that a king should "harden himself against all subordinates," for "the people give heed to him who terrorizes them." This latter piece of advice was undoubtedly prompted by sad experience, for Amenemhet speaks of the ingratitude of those whom he had helped. But the purpose of his advice

<sup>20</sup> Vogelsang und Gardiner, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> RT, 31, 25.

<sup>21</sup> BAR, I, 765.

<sup>23</sup> BAR, I, 478-483.



was to lead his son so to act that good may be increased, for the duty of a king was to provide for his people.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand the king was the object of the people's praise and adoration.<sup>25</sup> They were taught to fight for him,<sup>26</sup> and to overthrow his enemies.<sup>27</sup> They should obey and serve him and learn to live in his favor,<sup>28</sup> for he is the friend of the poor and the rewarder of the righteous.<sup>29</sup>

Otherwise, the relation of ruler to state and state to ruler, of ruler to individual and individual to ruler, of individual to state, and state to individual was similar to that which prevailed in the Old Kingdom. The same is true of the relation of individual to individual. As far as the relation of superior to inferior is concerned, almost every one of the numerous personal stelas of this period is eloquent with claims of virtue and righteousness of character. Again and again the assertions can be read: "I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked"; "the daughter of a poor man I did not wrong"; "I clothed the naked"; "I cared for the wounded"; "I nourished the orphan"; "I acted as a brother to the aged, as a father to the children;" "I did not exalt the great above the small"; "there was no widow whom I oppressed." The nomarch declared himself to be great of love, represser of evil, lord of justice, defender of the heir, not a plotter of evil, beloved of the whole city, hospitable, not distinguishing between great and small, making his city live, nurturing the child, burying the aged, saving the oppressed, free from causing ill, free from greediness, not exacting arrears, not an oppressor, did not do what mankind hates, rescued the oppressed from the powerful, free from deceit, sweetened misfortune, and excellent in character.<sup>30</sup> It seems that the official of the Middle Kingdom was regularly expected of his fellow-countrymen to be as near perfect in character as any human being can be. Such an official was "he who fulfills his

<sup>24</sup> BAR, I, 747.

<sup>25</sup> BAR, I, 747.

<sup>26</sup> Poertner, *op. cit.*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> BAR, I, 532.

<sup>28</sup> BAR, I, 765; J. J. Taylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, London, 1896.

<sup>29</sup> Vogelsang und Gardiner, *op. cit.*, *passim*; P-H § D.

<sup>30</sup> These and many similar claims to virtue are to be found in P. E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara*, Westminster, 1900; P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, London, Pt. I, 1893; Pt. II, 1894; J. J. Taylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, London, 1896; F. L. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, London, Pt. II (n. d.).

duties, does not injure, does not overpower truth"; "does not cause rancour"; "does not cause maladies"; "does not ravish the property from a poor wretch"; and "drives away all robbery" from the land.<sup>31</sup> They were expected to root out all evil from the land. It is said to one such official, "If thou veilest thy face from him whose countenance is hard, who then will subdue evil?"<sup>32</sup> They were the saviours of the country of whom justice was expected, "because the great god of the state abhors injustice." All this was the ideal. But though the intention was good, the actual often fell short of the ideal aimed at. The Eloquent Peasant complained that "the notables pillage, ravishing by force," the under-officer of the rich Rensi favoured Thutenakht who had robbed the Peasant, and there was a proverb which said, "His conduct is that of the nobles, favouring one side in his speech" (P-H § 28). Nevertheless there was another proverb which said, referring to a nomarch of this period, that "he was more unbiased than the magistrates" — a compliment not only to the nomarch but also to the magistrates. Moreover, so conscious had the official mind (though hereditary) become to its rôle of upholder of truth and justice that "to confuse a mean mind" was considered a shameful deed.

On the other hand the inferior greatly respected his superior;<sup>33</sup> he was very faithful and prompt in his duties;<sup>34</sup> and felt free to bring his complaints before him, as is well illustrated by the story of the Eloquent Peasant.

Man with man and equal with equal were expected to act justly and uprightly. Cruelty, lust, murder, theft, robbery, slander, and falsehood were condemned; and love, mercy, justice, honesty, kindness, truthfulness, etc., were commended.<sup>35</sup>

The high respect for the law, characteristic of the Old Kingdom remained in the Middle Kingdom. The king as representative of the gods was still the source of all law and justice. He demands justice, and through his magistrates and other officials provides that justice be administered.<sup>36</sup> He just as strictly demands punishment of all

<sup>31</sup> F. Vogelsang und A. H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*, *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> F. Vogelsang und A. H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*.

<sup>33</sup> A. Moret, *op. cit.*, C 12.

<sup>34</sup> BAR, I, 428, 522.

<sup>35</sup> See especially P-H; Vogelsang und Gardiner, *Klagen*; EGL, etc.

<sup>36</sup> S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, London, 1837-1841, 100; Vogelsang und Gardiner, *Klagen*.



who overstep the law (P-H § 5);<sup>37</sup> and declares that "the limits of justice are steadfast" (P-H § 5). Law-courts were common, where people brought their suits, where witnesses were heard, and where decisions were rendered. Just judges were the beloved of the king, and they inclined not to one side, but were as true as the balances of Thoth. But he who diminished the law and destroyed the reckoning of his acts, he was a miserable wretch.<sup>38</sup> Justice was always the ideal, and though the "plans of the gods were (sometimes) violated,"<sup>39</sup> and during the rebellion it was said that "the man of virtue walks in mourning by reason of what happened in the land,"<sup>40</sup> yet there was a commanding moral earnestness in the period of the Middle Kingdom which very often made it difficult to distinguish between obedience and the sense of right. Thus Ptah-Hotep declared, "If thou be commanded to do a theft, bring it to pass that the command be taken off thee" (P-H § 23). The sense of justice was very highly developed, for example, a nomarch of Siut made a legal contract between himself as nomarch and himself as high-priest.<sup>41</sup>

The amount of literary material containing references to the business affairs of the Middle Kingdom is negligible. The only allusions are indirect, but are illustrative of the hold which the idea of justice had gained upon the peoples' mind. Thus, a nomarch boasts, "I did not receive the goods of a wrongdoer."<sup>42</sup> We may, however, assume that similar ideas of property prevailed now as we saw existing in the Old Kingdom. Business was conducted on a sound basis, and labour was regulated by law. Slaves were common, but freemen were not always forced to labor.<sup>43</sup> This shows an advance on the customs of the Old Kingdom. Kindness to servants was recommended (P-H § 22), although slaves could be handed on by will from father to heir.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See also BAR, I, 747; *Klagen*.

<sup>38</sup> Vogelsang und Gardiner, *Klagen*.

<sup>39</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions*, Appendix (Khekeperre-sonbu).

<sup>40</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions*.

<sup>41</sup> BAR, I, 568 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Gardiner in *Abydos* III, London, 1904, 43.

<sup>43</sup> *Beni Hasan*, I, Tomb 2; BAR, I, 523.

<sup>44</sup> Petrie, *Kahun* (Hieratic Papyri).

### 3. *International Virtues and Vices*

The Egyptians of all times were a peace-loving people. Their monarchs loved to boast that they preserved peace,<sup>45</sup> and the passing of life in peace was called the eternal manner.<sup>46</sup> Yet war was common in the Middle Kingdom. It was indeed at the end of this period when the Egyptians were forced by a cruel experience to devote themselves very assiduously to the arts of war. The Hyksos with their horses had subjugated Egypt and remained in control till the time of Ahmose I. One of the greatest kings of the Middle Kingdom was Sesostri III, who carried Egyptian arms into Syria and became just as much addicted to the capture of men and women, of cattle and grain, and of all kinds of spoil as the leaders of any war-like peoples. In short, war became for some men a profession, and was, as always, considered a sacred and holy undertaking, for was it not the gods who directed that the country's enemies be destroyed ?

### 4. *Transcendental Virtues and Vices*

The same simple, naive conception of deity, found in the Old Kingdom, continued during the Middle Kingdom. But the gods were also the source and guardians of all truth and justice. They loved righteousness and hated evil.<sup>47</sup> They were the source of all wisdom (P-H § A), and the determiners of fate (P-H § 26). They loved those who received the supplications of the needy,<sup>48</sup> and helped all, especially those who helped themselves (P-H § 10). But their way prevailed (P-H § 6), and they demanded men's praise,<sup>49</sup> and the confidence of the king.<sup>50</sup> The service rendered to the gods was a strange mixture of magic and discriminating adoration, but it should be noticed that, whenever magic was practiced in ancient Egypt, demons were the beings propitiated;<sup>51</sup> although it must be admitted that the idea of religious purity was often very mechanical.<sup>52</sup>

The idea of the hierarchy continued to be the same as in the earlier period, although there was a tendency to relieve the pharaoh of many of his religious duties, and distribute them among the no-

<sup>45</sup> BAR, I, 483.

<sup>46</sup> BAR, I, 747.

<sup>49</sup> J. J. Taylor, *op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> RT, 31, 22; *Annales du Service*, 5, 248.

<sup>50</sup> Newberry, *Rekhmara*.

<sup>48</sup> Gardiner in *Abydos*, III, London, 1904, 43.

<sup>51</sup> See G. A. Reisner, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, Leipzig, 1905.

<sup>52</sup> BAR, I, 764.



marches. But such would be the case in any feudal age. Polytheism, of course, was the order of the day, and the frequent occurrence of the word *neter*, "god," apart from its proper name, is no proof of monotheism. It was customary for the individual suppliant to address his deity just as if no others existed, although he would be the last to deny the existence of other gods.

### 5. *Personal Virtues and Vices*

The Egyptian individual had developed a sense of personal right, which is often remarkable. The Misanthrope (EGL) and the Eloquent Peasant (Klagen) assume an individualism and sense of personal right which are eloquent of the independence of thought and action in ancient Egypt. The Eloquent Peasant, in his dispute with his antagonist, declared, "my ways are good," i.e., "I have a *right* to the way I take"; and the Misanthrope demanded that each man be responsible only for his own deeds — "sentence a man only for the deed that he has verily committed." The Egyptian's sense of truth and justice had molded him into a stern critic of personal endeavour and responsibility. "Thy tongue is the spring of a balance, thy heart is the weight, and thy two lips are its arms," declared the Eloquent Peasant; and Ptah-Hotep said, "honor a man for what he has become, not for what he was." In keeping with this teaching, the Egyptian held himself to be upright, truthful, just, honest, frank, generous, the protector of widows and orphans, and defender of the weak;<sup>53</sup> and he condemned all the opposite vices. He was warned to expect injustice and oppression and to be able to stand alone;<sup>54</sup> but he was fair enough to see that "the other fellow" had his rights. These he respected, and accordingly condemned adultery, robbery, and violence, and encouraged the opposite virtues and a recognition of the rights of his fellow-men.<sup>55</sup>

All this was, of course, the ideal. There were many exceptions to the acts of virtue already enumerated, so much so that the Misanthrope could find no justice in the land, no satisfaction in the world, and nothing but evil held sway.<sup>56</sup> But where there are ideals there are good intentions, and good intentions are not always successful.

<sup>53</sup> See, for examples, EGL; Newberry, *Rekhmara*; and P-H.

<sup>55</sup> P-H, *passim*; Gardiner in *Abydos* III, London, 1904, 43.

<sup>54</sup> BAR, I, 479; P-H § 20.

<sup>56</sup> EGL, XL, XLII.

### III. ESTIMATION OF THE MORALS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

#### 1. *Introduction*

Bearing in mind the conditions which must be considered in forming an estimate of Egyptian morals, we must not forget to distinguish between the ideal and the real. We must also remember the moral determinants of the time, and make due allowance for their influence upon what were the accepted uses and customs, ideals and aspirations of the age.

#### 2. *Moral Ideals*

As in the Old Kingdom so here the great ideal in all walks of life, under all circumstances, and at all times, was truth. The Egyptian word for "truth," namely, *maât*, is derived from a verb which means "to be straight." The Misanthrope represented the average Egyptian's opinion in his advice, "Speak the truth, do the truth, do that which conforms to truth, because truth is powerful, because it is great, because it is lasting, and when its parts are found it leads to a blessed state of existence." Ptah-Hotep never tired in his praise of truth (P-H §§ 5, 8, 19, C), and the same is true of every Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom who has left behind him a testimony of himself.<sup>57</sup> Ptah-Hotep aptly said that "the excellence of things is their truth."

This high regard for truth resulted in a deep sense of justice. Ptah-Hotep and others never wearied of saying, "Do right," "deal justly"; and the ideal of the public man was to bear the balance of Râ, the symbol of justice.<sup>58</sup> "Good law" was "just law," and the official was appointed to office for the sole purpose of seeing that justice was administered. The Misanthrope put the matter in a very striking way when he said "It is breath to the nose to do justice."

A desire for justice and respect for the truth deepened the Egyptian's hatred for evil in all its forms, and the many claims of righteous dealings and purity of character put forth by men of the Middle Kingdom show how much truth and justice were appreciated. Their "ought" was summed up in doing "what men love and what the

<sup>57</sup> See BAR, I, 423, 471, 512, 532, 533, 657, 658, 727, 745, 748; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 4, 29; Newberry, *Rekhmara*; J. J. Taylor, *op. cit.*; *Beni Hasan I.*

<sup>58</sup> RT, 30, 189.



gods approve," which was "what appertains to a man" (*iry-t*). The gods desired good and hated evil, daily experience showed how men sought the one and avoided the other, and the highest ideal of the average man was to drown out vice that virtue may remain (P-H § 36). Truth, justice, righteousness, and goodness were sought in family, social, international, religious, and personal life.

### 3. *Moral Evil*

The opposite of truth, justice, righteousness and goodness was considered the moral evil. The Misanthrope puts it very clearly when he says, "He who makes a compact with falsehood, his portion henceforth is that truth turns away from him, for then his good is falsehood, and truth does not concern itself for him"; and in the same strain he says, "He who hides the truth is always discovered"; and, "There is no friend for him who is deaf to the truth, there is no happiness for the violent." Moreover, the exact equivalent to what is not true is evil (P-H §§ 2-3); and evil is despised for it "never hath brought its venture safe to port" (P-H § 5). Sinfulness of any kind was mere foolishness (P-H § A), and must always be distinguished from goodness. They must never be confused. The Misanthrope said on this subject, "Do not reward good as though it were evil or put the last in the place of the first."

The moral evil, then, of the Middle Kingdom was similar to that of the Old Kingdom, only with a deepened sense of the foolishness of falsehood and injustice, and the unrighteousness of brutal might (P-H § 6). Vices such as quarrelling, anger, covetousness, were common and were condemned, but that which was hated above all in every sphere of life was falsehood, injustice, and unrighteousness. They were the moral evil of the time.

### 4. *Free Will*

It may be assumed that the belief in free will, the power of making decisions, of changing courses of action, and of entering upon new experiences, was common in the Middle Kingdom as well as in every other period of Egyptian civilization. But while there is no evidence in the literature of the Old Kingdom that the idea of predestination had arisen — and one would not expect it, because of the close and ever-present relationship between gods and men —

yet there is proof that the idea had been developed by the time of the Middle Kingdom. The word *šay*, meaning "destiny," becomes common in this period, and the idea is found often, especially in the story of Sinuhe, where there are found such expressions as, "Is god ignorant of what is decreed with regard to him?" "Oh, all ye gods who predestined that I should flee"; and "The god who predestined me to this flight drew me."<sup>59</sup> This is, then, an advance upon the thought of the Old Kingdom.

### 5. Moral Sanction

Moral sanction in Egypt of the Middle Kingdom was mostly external. There are instances of extremely utilitarian sanctions, such as in the case of the man who said, "I did that which the great ones loved, and that which was praised by the humble people, in order that Horus may extend my life upon earth."<sup>60</sup> But the moral sanction which appealed most forcibly to the Egyptian mind was the idea of reward in the future life. He looked forward to death as a deliverance (EGL XLV-XLIX), but also as a place where his virtues would be rewarded. There the sinful would be punished, but the righteous would be gloriously rewarded. A real moral satisfaction in the future was contemplated. There eternal happiness would be enjoyed.<sup>61</sup> The many stelas of this period depict the ideal family life that will ensue in the future world.<sup>62</sup> But that was not the only sanction connected with the idea of the future. The Egyptians believed that to leave behind a good name in this world was most desirable, and very practical steps were often taken, by way of mortuary contracts, to guarantee this desideratum.<sup>63</sup> Nomarchs were especially concerned to leave to posterity a reputation as merciful and beneficent rulers. It was firmly believed that one's name lived on in human memory (EGL IX).

There was also a real internal moral sanction to right thinking and pure living. Fidelity and virtue were their own reward.<sup>64</sup> Not only did each person look forward to the time when his soul would be

<sup>59</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Leipzig, 1909, ll. 126, 155, 230.

<sup>60</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh*, London, 1909, Stele 1.

<sup>61</sup> N. G. Davies and Alan H. Gardiner *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, London, 1915, 43, 66.

<sup>62</sup> Davies and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, *passim*; V. Schmidt, *Museum Münsterianum*, Bruxelles, 1910, 13 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 7, 82, 83.

<sup>64</sup> J. J. Taylor, *op. cit.*, *passim*.



"justified" <sup>65</sup> by Thoth in the presence of Rā, but he took keen pleasure in the idea, and it reacted upon his conduct with a restraining effect, producing a very conscious desire to think worthily, speak truthfully, and act justly.

#### 6. Conclusion

The estimation of moral conditions in the Middle Kingdom, individually and nationally, really and ideally considered, has been found to be similar in every detail but one to that of the moral conditions in the Old Kingdom.<sup>66</sup> In the Middle Kingdom we find one very important forward step in the development of civilization — in the advance made in social thinking. In the Old Kingdom a free-man could regularly be forced to labor; in the Middle Kingdom that was not always so. Thus there was a growing consciousness of the right of the individual. This tendency manifested itself in other ways also. In the Middle Kingdom for the first time in Egyptian history the individual is found to claim "justification" in the next world. He as well as the pharaoh is to appear individually before Thoth and Rā and be allowed to give evidence of his virtues. Along with this goes the development of the idea of predestination, which appeared as a new idea in the Middle Kingdom. Each individual was the subject of the god's forethoughtful consideration, whose fate was given its place in the whole scheme of things. While this idea was chiefly due to the growing conception of the greatness of the gods' duties in comparison with the smallness of man, it was also in part due to the emphasis placed on the individual.

The Middle Kingdom was a feudal age. The grip in which the people of the Old Kingdom were held, was loosening. The power of the pharaoh was being decentralized. Small barons had sprung up all over the land, and the middle and lower classes found more opportunity for individual self-assertion. In other words, individualism was coming into its own; and, as an evidence of this new self-consciousness, the Middle Kingdom has not only furnished us with many monuments of non-official Egyptians, but has left us a literature of individualism of such a quality and quantity as no other people, at as early an age, can boast.

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of the word *maā-ḥrw*, see K. Sethe, *Einsetzung des Vezirs*, 23, anm. 96. In the Old Kingdom this word was used only of the deceased

pharaoh, but at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom it became customary to add it to the name of every deceased person. <sup>66</sup> JSOR 2, 3-28.

## A LAMENTATION TO ARURU

(Metropolitan Museum No. 112)

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York

ARURU was the goddess of Kesh (cf. Langdon, *Babyl. Liturg.*, No. 102, 1). On a kudurru of the time of Nazi-Marutash, Ninib, Ishhara and Aruru form a triad following Marduk. In the Cosmological Myth, 82-5-22, 1.048, l. 21 (CT XIII 36, 9), Marduk and the goddess Aruru create the seed of mankind; cf. Jensen, KB VI<sup>41</sup>, 362; King, *Creation* I<sup>135</sup>; Dhorme, *Textes Religieux*, 87. Aruru created Gilgamesh (*Gilgamesh Epic* I, 2: 30) and Engidu (l. 33, 34). She has already been equated to Sarpanitu (RHR II<sup>168</sup>) and to Belit (KB VI<sup>362</sup>). For other references, cf. Martin, *Textes Religieux*, I: 185; Deimel, *Panth. Bab.*, p. 59. Only two short hymns to her are known in Sumerian poetry (Langdon, *Bab. Lit.*, No. 102; Zimmern, *Sum. Kullieder*, 173). She is only a variant of the Great Virgin Mother Innini or Nintud or Ninharsag. (Cf. Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, 92.) In the new text here studied, Aruru is addressed as if she were the Great Mater Dolorosa in whose name were composed so many hymns. She is like her a goddess of war (obv. 5, 7), of agriculture (obv. 11, 13), of fertility (obv. 14). On the reverse she is described as the angry goddess while the closing melody is on the theme of the Great Weeping Mother.

The tablet has suffered much. There were two columns on each side. Col. II of the obverse and Col. I of the reverse are entirely lost. The ends of all the lines of the remaining columns are broken away. The lines are neatly divided in hemistichs. The writing is of the golden age of Sumerian Literature.

### TRANSLITERATION

#### *Obv. I*

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. ùl-ùl-la mu-un-DU . . .                      |                    |
| 2. <sup>d</sup> A-ru-ru ùl-ùl-la mu-un-DU . . . |                    |
| 3. nin-šag-ga                                   | . . .              |
| 4. áb er-ra                                     | nin -š[ag-ga . . . |
| 5. mu-lu zid-da-ni                              | mar-ür . . .       |



6. mu-lu ná-a-ni	kuš-ù (?) . . .
7. gud-dam ki-bal-a	muš-ša-tùr <sup>1</sup> . . .
8. íd-gal-gal-e	má-da-lá . . .
9. id šid dagal-e	. . .
10. id-da na-am ba-e-kud	íd . . .
11. ašag-ga na-am ba-e-kud	še . . .
12. íd nam-kud-da-zu	. . .
13. ašag nam-kud-da-zu	. . .
14. dam na-am-kud-da-zu	. . .
15. dumu na-am-kud-da-zu	. . .
16. é(?) -ḱar <sup>2</sup> -ra <sup>2</sup> -zu	[e(?) -ḱar-ra-zu-gim . . .]
17. a-tud-zu	[a-tud-zu-gim . . .]
18. á-nad <sup>3</sup> -zu	[á-nad-zu-gim . . .]
19. é-zu é-zu-gim	. . .
20. uru-zu uru-zu-gim	. . .
21. dam-zu dam-zu-gim	. . .
22. dumu-zu dumu-zu-gim	. . .

*Reverse II*

1. nin ga-ša-an ḡar-[sag-gà . . .]	
2. kabar <sup>4</sup> ki-šág-ga	. . .
3. edin-na ḡin-ne-mèn	. . .
4. ta a-ab-ba	. . .
5. nin ga-ša-an ḡar-sag-gà	. . .
6. i-dé ila-zu <sup>5</sup>	a-ba [ba-ra-è]
7. dug bad-da-zu	a-ba [ba-ra-šub-ba]
8. nin ga-ša-an ḡar-sag-gà	nin . . .
9. é-tur mu-e-gul <sup>6</sup>	AB-PA+ <sup>7</sup> . . .
10. ki-amaš mu-e-ḡul-e	?-amaš . . .
11. dumu ama-ḡen-zi-da <sup>8</sup>	ur-ri-eš [mu-e . . .]
12. mu-lu-maḡ mu-šid-ra nu-mu-e- . . . <sup>9</sup>	
13. tu-mu ligir-zag-ga <sup>10</sup> nu-mu-e . . .	
14. si-gal <sup>11</sup> keš-ki-ge	na-ma-ni . . .
15. ù-a ši-maḡ <sup>12</sup>	ù-[a ši-maḡ]
16. nin <sup>13</sup> -gal <sup>14</sup> Mu-ul-lil-lá	ù-[a ši-maḡ]
17. nin ga-ša-an ḡar-sag-gà	ù-[a ši-gal]
18. ùl-ùl tùr-ra	ùl-ùl . . .
19. ùl-ùl ù-sig-sar-gim	šù-šù . . .

20. giš-mar-maḡ tur-ri	giš-mar . . .
21. giš erin-kud-du-e	giš erin kud[-du e]
22. ùr-súg-ga	u-[a ši-maḡ]
<hr/>	
23. a-ri-ri túm-ma <sup>15</sup>	ki-šág . . .

## TRANSLATION

*Obverse*

1. The terrified (?) <sup>16</sup> . . .	. . .
2. Aruru the terrified (?) . . .	. . .
3. Beneficent lady	. . .
4. Wailing wild-cow	queen . . .
5. She whose progress	is a . . . storm-wind
6. Whose repose (?)	peace . . .
7. Like an ox, the hostile lands	a dragon . . .
8. On the great rivers	masts (?) . . .
9. On the wide . . . canals	. . .
10. The canal thou hast destined	[to] . . .
11. The field thou hast destined	[to bear] grain
12. The canal whose fate thou hast determined	may . . .
13. The field whose fate thou hast determined	may . . .
14. The wife whose fate thou hast determined	may . . .
15. The son whose fate thou hast determined	may . . .
16. Thy quay-house (?) like thy quay-house (?)	. . .
17. Thy . . . like thy . . .	. . .
18. Thy bed like thy bed	. . .
19. Thy temple like thy temple	. . .
20. Thy city like thy city	. . .
21. Thy wife (?) like thy wife (?)	. . .
22. Thy son like thy son	. . .

*Reverse*

1. Lady, Queen of the Mountains	. . .
2. The shepherd boy in a good place	. . .
3. [In] the plain thou walkest (?)	. . .
4. . . . the sea	
5. Lady, Queen of the Mountains	. . .
6. When thou liftest thy gaze	who can escape ?
7. When thou takest a step	who can flee away ?



8. Lady, Queen of the mountains	lady . . .
9. Thou hast laid waste the cattle-stalls	[scattered] the flocks (?)
10. Thou hast destroyed the park of the small cattle	. . .
11. The son of the faithful mother	cruelly [thou hast . . .]
12. The lord, the scribe (?)	thou dost not . . .
13. The child (?) a chieftainship (?)	thou dost not . . .
14. Oh sigal of Kesh	. . . not . . .
15. Alas, oh Majesty	Alas, oh Majesty!
16. Great sister of Enlil	Alas, oh Majesty!
17. Lady, Queen of the Mountains	Alas, oh Majesty!
18. The terrified (?) and degraded	Oh, terrified (?) and de- graded!
19. The terrified who like garlic	uprooted . . .
20. Degraded <sup>17</sup> . . .	. . .
21. Severed cedar,	severed cedar.
22. Dismembered root	Alas, oh Majesty!
23. She who is accustomed to sorrow	In the propitious (?) place . . .

## NOTES

1. Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 26, 24.
2. Cf. Langdon, *Bab. Lit.* 73<sup>9</sup>.
3. Cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 5<sup>12</sup>.
4. Probable reading of SIB-DUMU = kaparru. In Delitzsch's *Sum. Akkad. Hett. Vokabularfragmente*, p. 5, nam-kab-bar = kappurutu, showing that ka-bar = kaparru.
5. Cf. K 41 rev. II 7, 8 (Langdon SBP 8); SBH 23 obv. 28, 29 (SBP 68). And yet the text has clearly a vertical wedge that cannot belong to a *ba*.
6. Cf. Zimmern, SKL 17 Rev. III 1.
7. One should expect áb-gud-še-ri-a = utullatu, flock.
8. Cf. SBH 131<sup>58</sup>.
9. Text has DU.
10. Cf. SBP 14 <sup>18</sup>; SKL 199 I 45.
11. Cf. the title of Ninib, umun si-gal, SBH 132 <sup>26</sup>, *Bab. Lit.* 92 <sup>7</sup>. The same word denotes a vegetable, Gudea, Cyl. A 26 <sup>6</sup>; A. de la Fuye, *Doc. Prés.* 36 I <sup>1</sup>.

12. Rendered by rubatu sirtu, Ebeling, KAA 73 rev. 15. ši is a dialectic variant of ki = rabû, found only in ur-ki = kalbu rabû and ur-ku.
13. sic, but probably an error for SAL + KU = ahātu.
14. On Aruru, sister of Enlil, cf. Craig, RT I p. 19<sup>6</sup>; Langdon, *Epic of Paradise*, p. 17, n. 3.
15. túm-ma = šuluku.
16. Liturgies begin usually with titles of the divinity to be propitiated; the meaning terrified seems strange both here and rev. 18, 19 and yet the word *ul* when written with the sign GIR denotes movement prompted by fear. Perhaps the idea of brightness, joy, underlies the word *ul*.
17. Cf. CT 12<sup>50</sup> rev.<sup>7</sup>; SKL 156 obv. 10 for possible light on mar-maĝ.

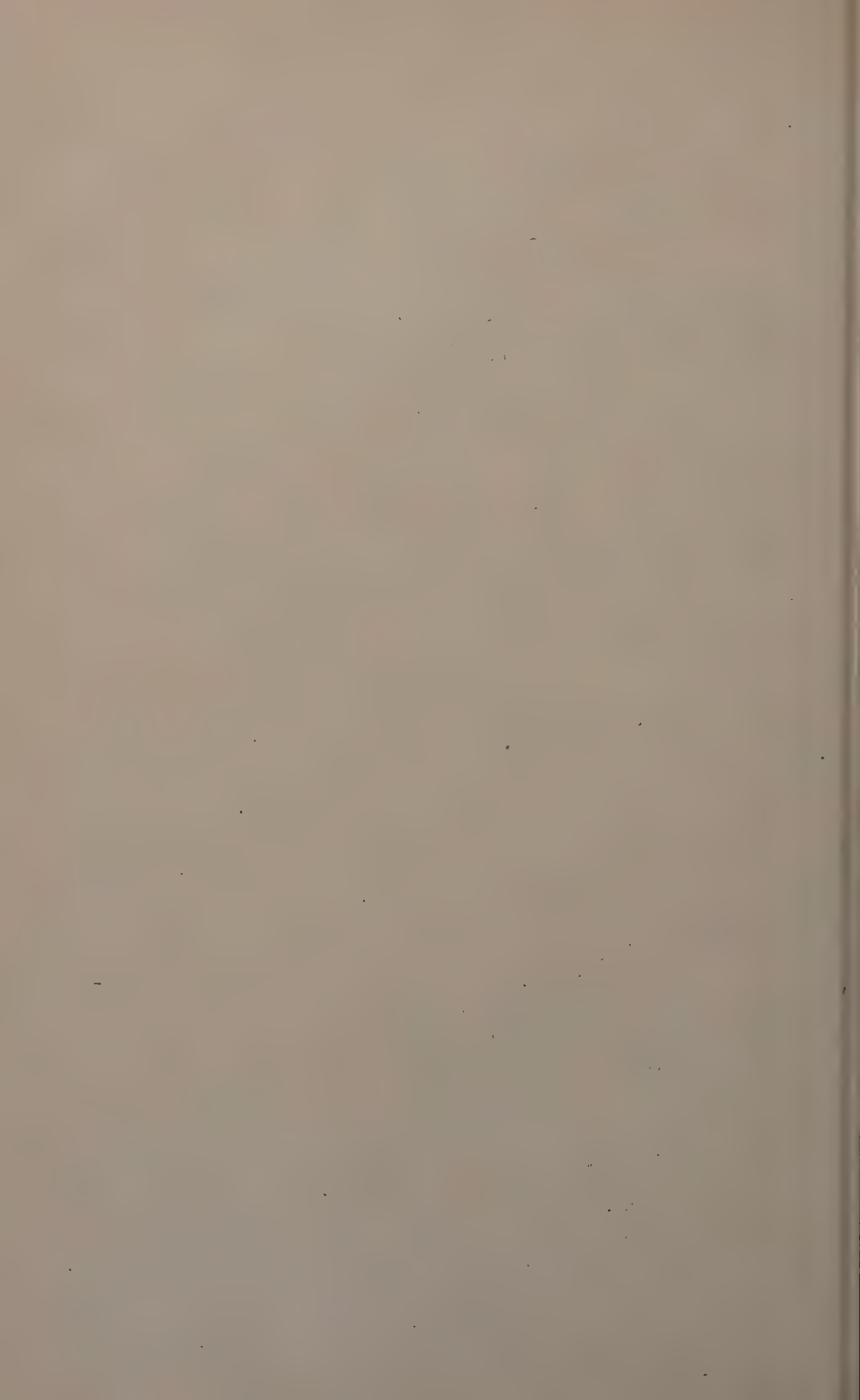


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# AN OLD TESTAMENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1914 TO 1917 INCLUSIVE <sup>1</sup>

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago

THE great war has cast its shadow upon many fields of endeavour, but upon none more disasterously than that of archaeology. Since 1914 very little practical archaeology has been carried on, but many results of former archaeological expeditions have been published. A majority of these results have been accessible for this bibliography, but there are still many which must await happier times for our study. After peace is declared supplementary bibliographies representing the war years will be published.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the archaeological section of the Old Testament bibliography which began to appear in the *Anglican Theological Review*, 1918, 214, and which is still in progress. This bibliography and the one in the ATR supplement each other.

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Alt's book contains a very full bibliography of Palestinean archaeology. Baikie deals with the history and general culture of peoples contemporaneous with the Hebrews and Jews. Ball enumerates and discusses some philological coincidences and sequences between the Sumerians and Semites. Barton's work is the best systematic treatment of Archaeology and the Bible, which has ever been produced. He gives full historical and critical introductions to all translations of extra-biblical material, and arranges the whole in chronological order. Berkhof's book is not "Biblical Archaeology" in the generally accepted sense of the term, but an enumeration of the customs and manners of the early inhabitants of Palestine. Clay discusses the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and Naram-Sin in their bearing upon the OT. This third edition of Cobern's little book records up to 1916 all the important results obtained in Palestine. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* has been increased by two numbers, one containing Phoenician and the other containing Aramean inscriptions. Cumont's new book is full of suggestive material, and is similar to his former works. Dalman in his *Jahrbuch* presents his readers with an interesting description of over thirty localities in Palestine, and in his article gives an account of excavations undertaken in Jerusalem during the winter of 1913-14 by Capt. Weil. The water-course discovered by Schick was traced still further. If any one wants to know what the qualifications and methods of an archaeologist should be he need only read Droop's splendid work. In the twelfth volume of his great work Frazer gives an excellent bibliography and general index to this corpus indispensable to all students of OT religion. Hancock's book is a descrip-

tion with drawings and photographs of what has recently been done by archaeologists in Palestine. **Hyamson** deals with Palestine as it is to-day. The third, enlarged and newly arranged edition of **Jeremias'** work, in spite of his exaggerated pan-Babylonian bias, is welcome, for he is nothing if he is not thorough. **Karge's** *Habilitationschrift* deals with prehistoric remains of a small but important part of Palestine. A small popular book on biblical archaeology for Dutch readers is supplied by **Keizir**. **King** reviews recent Babylonian publications with reference to OT, especially in connection with the city of Babylon. **Mader** describes all the menhirs, cromlech's and dolmens that are known to exist in Palestine west of the Jordan. They belong to the later stone and earlier metal ages. The dolmens, he thinks, are sepulchral monuments, not altars. Embodied in the Smithsonian report for 1914 is **Naville's** account of excavations at Abydos, in which are described various tombs, among them being that of Seti I, father of Rameses II. Religious texts of the time of Merneptah are discussed. **Offord** gives a general discussion of the Elephantiné papyri in relation to the OT. **The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia**, while containing some useful articles, is not worth the paper on which it is printed. It is a poor cross between Hasting's and Smith's dictionaries, containing nothing that is original and much that is unreliable. **Paton** in the BW discusses the bearing of archaeology on Pentateuchal history in a masterly fashion, and in the *Pilgrim Teacher* that of archaeology on the later books of the OT. The book by **Politeyan** is too naïve to be useful. In recent years Brill has been continuing the publications of a series of books for Princeton University containing the results of that University's expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909. In Divisions II and III, Sections A and B has been published a series of studies in "Ancient Architecture in Syria," and a collection of "Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria." The most important part of this work for students of the OT is Div. IV, Sec. A, in which **Littmann** publishes 107 Nabataen inscriptions, all found east of the Jordan, and representing the period 33 B.C. - 124 A.D. In the BW **Richardson** has published a series of articles on the Use and Abuse of Archaeology in the study of the OT. They are excellent in every way. **Robinson** gives a rather overdrawn account of recent excavations at Jericho, Samaria, Bethshemesh, Ophel, Mt.



Zion, Balata, Carchemish, and in the Negeb. **Sayce** still continues his ingenious chapters on the "Archaeology of the Book of Genesis." A preliminary report in regard to excavations at the mound of Balata at Schechem is presented by **Sellin**. He marks four periods of occupation in Palestine, Canaanite, early Israelite, late Israelite, and Greek. In the ZDPV, **Dalman** discusses a series of recent Palestinian inscriptions, **Sternberg** gives a discussion of Bethel in light of the most recent finds, and **Lauffs** writes with detail about Kirjath-Jearim. **Thiersch** in the same periodical makes a report of the recent excavations carried on at Shechem, Beth-Shemesh, Caesarea, Diban, Askalon, and Alexandreion, and enumerates the archaeological publications of 1913. **Thomsen** continues his excellent bibliography of literature bearing upon Palestine. Vol. 3 contains the literature of the years 1910-14. **Vincent** presents a good review and a compendium of what has been done in recent years. The work by **Volz** is comprehensive and thorough, and is in two parts, religious and cultural. **Watson** gives a record and summary of work done in Palestine from 1865 to 1915 inclusive, and his article in the *Quarterly Statement* is brief but thorough.

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Albright discusses Thureau-Dangin's *Une relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon* and reviews of that book. Binns seeks to show that Necho made two expeditions, during the first of which Josiah was slain, and Necho penetrated to the Euphrates; in the second Necho was checked by the battle of Carchemish. Brown dates the Exodus in 1230 B.C. In his study of prehistoric man, Smith discusses the place of the Hebrews. The first history of Tyre since the monograph of Krall, *Tyrus und Sidon*, Wien, 1888, has been written

by **Fleming**. He traces the history from the earliest times down to the present day, with chapters on the commerce, religion, and coins of Tyre. **Gray** discusses Hebrew proper names found on the Samaritan ostraca of the Harvard expedition of 1908-10. This is the third revised edition of **Hall's** splendid work. **Haupt** contends that Ps. 110 and Gen. 14 refer to the attempted revolt of Zerubbabel. According to **Hogath** the Egyptian empire in Asia was no empire in the strict sense of the term. The Egyptians merely sustained a series of raids in western Asia. **King's** history of Babylon is the best extant. **Kohn's** work is thoroughly reliable. A good résumé of what was known up to 1914 of the Hittite with reference to the OT is given by **Luckenbill**. In the Smithsonian Report for 1914 is contained the Huxley memorial Lecture for 1911 by **Luschan**, in which the various invasions of different peoples into western Asia are excellently depicted. **Macalister's** book on the Philistines is the very best in the field. The only complete collection of contemporaneous extra-biblical material for the study of OT history is brought together and translated by **Mercer** with historical introductions, chronological tables, and maps. **Moulton** excellently discusses the problem of the Hittites from an Iranian point of view. A portion of the recently published Petrograd papyrus which contains a list of payments of beer and grain to Palestinian ambassadors made by Egyptian officials in the reign of Thutmose III is translated by **Müller**. Many Palestinian cities are mentioned. Scarab number 1718 of the Provincial Museum in Toronto is studied by **Müller** who seeks to show that Shabaka is not to be identified with the biblical So. **Naville** contends that there is no evidence that Merneptah ever invaded Syria. **Olmstead's** work is indispensable to students of OT history. **Paton's** two volumes are models of accurate work. They contain much material useful for OT history. **Petrie** shows that the fort of Heliopolis was a Hyksos fortress like that of Yehudiyeh. **Piltner** continues a discussion begun in 1913 of the names in Gen. 14. The whole has appeared in a reprint. Mamre is west Semitic, not Babylonian. Eskol is Hebraic. Melchizedek is west Semitic. He argues for the historicity of Ch. 14. **Pinches** publishes two texts, one of which contains an oath in the name of Nabonidus and Belshazzar his son, and the other contains the phrase, "Gobryas governor of Babylon." In the same periodical **Pinches** collects some



valuable information for the study of Gen. 14. **Poebel's** texts are only indirectly valuable for OT history. Darius I comes in for a thorough historical discussion in **Prášek's** little work. **Procksch** describes in a masterly way the inhabitants of Palestine from the stone age till the Babylonian exile, and shows that Israel's relation to the land is not ethnographical but historical. Herodotus refers to the same pestilence which is cited in Kings as a visitation of the "angel of the Lord," thinks **Rogers**, and he holds that this disaster befell Sennacherib not in 701 but between 688 and 682. The sixth edition of **Rogers'** fine work is greatly enlarged and brought up to date. **Sayce** publishes a new Tell el-Amarna tablet containing a Babylonian legend about Sargon as the first man. **Slousch** discusses the problem of the עם הארץ as raised by Sulzberger, and the constitutional and representative government of the ancient Hebrews.

In **Streck's** three volume work we have all the Assyrian historical material from the time of Assurbanipal for the study of OT history. **Urquhart's** work is not important.

### 3. ARCHAEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

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## 4. ARCHAEOLOGY AND LITERATURE

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Allis contends for the early date of the Psalms. The problem is not: How late are the Pss.?; but: How early are they? Barton controverts Langdon's position (see below) with fresh translations of his own. According to Boutflower, Sennacherib in 709 B.C. captured Adumu or Dumah and defeated the tribe of Kedar completely — the fulfilment of the two shorter prophecies in this chapter. The side lights used by Cornaby are literary, philosophical, and moral. Bauer's article is a study of root types. Daiches' study is valuable. Dhorme's article is a continuation, taking up the subject of the intensive, causative, and reflexive forms of the strong and weak verbs. The article by Gardiner is a highly technical one to prove the early origin of the Semitic alphabet. Parts x and xi of the Oxy. Papyri have some OT texts. Gunkel explains the royal psalms as being pre-exilic. His argument is based upon similar Babylonian, Assy-

rian, and Egyptian Literature. **Halévy** compares the Song of Songs with the myth of Osiris-Hetep. **Haupt** studies *TU* and *NAM* in the light of the OT Flood. **Hommel** gives examples to show that the Biblical עֵמֶק is found in Sumerian inscriptions, indicating NW Arabia, Meluch. **Hoonacker** reads ההרים instead of ההרסים, and defines the place of decision as a meeting place between heaven and hell, which offers a parallel to the assembling of Yahweh's messengers. **Kelso** answers this question in the negative, against Winckler and Naville, as does also **König**. **Langdon** gives in his first two articles and in the *Museum Journal* a preliminary account of a Sumerian legend which he publishes and discusses at full in the PBS x, 1, where he gives reasons for believing that the Sumerians had their own legend of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man. Langdon's conclusions have not all been as yet accepted. In his article on redactors, Langdon's material is useful in a critical study of the Hebrew prophets. **Langdon** shows in his article on Babylonian Wisdom that the metrical form, strophical arrangement, and ethical content of that literature recall the proverbs of Ben Sira and of Aḥikar. **Lyll** shows how Ancient Arabia may be illustrated by Ancient-Israel. The fragments studied by **Marmorstein** were found in the Genizah in Cairo. **Montgomery** uses the method of ploughing and sowing in Babylonia in the 14th century B.C. to illustrate Jub. 11. **Naville** discusses the words Canaanite, Succoth, and Etham, which equal in Egyptian, respectively, merchant, Thuku, and Aduma. **Offord** studies various OT passages, e.g., Hab. 3: 3-6; I Sam. 6; Hos. 13: 14; Job 18; 8; Ps. 18; 4 f.; Job 30: 23. **Pilster** shows that this word in the Elephantiné papyri means "temple." In these four articles **Pinches** discusses the new texts recently published by Poebel, Clay and Langdon. **Prince** studies the terms *MAR-TU<sup>ki</sup>* and Amurru. **Prinz's** work is very useful for exegetical studies in the OT, e.g., Ps. 19: 2-7 he calls a Babylonian Šamaš hymn. **Robinson's** article is a conservative discussion of the bearing of the Fall of Babylon upon the Book of Daniel. In the ET, **Sayce** concludes that behind the Biblical account of the Flood story lie two Babylonian versions; and in the tablet published by Langdon there is no Sumerian version of the Deluge. He discusses Jewish inspiration in his article on the Meroitic alphabet, finding it as early as Isaiah. **Scheil** also discusses Langdon's tablet. The book by

**Stummer** is a criticism of the *Aḥikar* text. He is prone to see too many parallels between *Aḥikar* and the Book of Proverbs. The home of the story he places in Babylonia. **Tisdall's** article is a continuation. **Wilson** makes a systematic though brief review of the contents of the Elephantine papyri; and in the second article seeks to show that "King of Persia" was possible as a contemporary title. His arguments are characteristic of all his works.

## 5. ARCHAEOLOGY AND RELIGION

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- WOOD, W. C., "The Religion of Canaan," *JBL* 35, 1-133, 163-279.

It is hoped that the series of contributions to the study of Religions, published in Leipzig for a society in **Stockholm** will continue after the war. Two good articles bear upon the OT, namely, "Jahvetempel ausserhalb Palästinas," by Fries, and "Textkritische und exegetische Anmerkungen zu den Makkabäerbüchern," by Risberg. Browne thinks that in Ezra 8: 17 there may be a refer-

ence to a Jewish temple at Elephantiné. A physician (**Canaan**) born in Palestine gives an interesting and valuable account, with excellent illustrations, of the history of magic and medicine in Palestine. **Caspari** presents a survey of all that relates to the dead. **Cowley** finds evidence of an organized congregation of Jews at Abydos (?), or at Tba, or both, in the third century B.C. There is a mention of the Tôrâ. **Dussaud** in both works studies the sacrifices of Israel, especially the Levitical, in the light of those of Carthage. **Ebeling** using Babylonian sources, finds many persons bearing Jewish names combined with Jôwa and Jâhû. **Fox** thinks that striking resemblances between Greek and Hebrew curses do not necessarily show a developement of the former from the latter. **Frazer's** third edition of his studies in the history of Oriental religion is revised and brought up to date. In 1916 three volumes of **The Mythology of All Races** appeared: **Fox**, *Greek and Romans*, pp. xxiii + 354; **Alexander**, *North American*, pp. xxiv + 325; **Dixon**, *Oceanic*, pp. xv + 364; and in 1917 **Keith** and **Carnoy**, *Indian, Iranian*, pp. ix + 404. **Guttman's** Festschrift contains, among others, two essays by **Cohen**, one on "Holy Spirit from a Jewish point of view," and two others on the Wisdom of Sol. 11: 18." **Lewkowitz** writes a paper to establish the true meaning of the relation between God and man. **Hastings** ERE continues to be just as excellent as ever. Vols. 6-9 cover "Fiction — Phrygians." **Haupt** holds that in the story of Paradise, the serpent symbolises carnal desire, sexual lust, and concupiscence. **Haury's** thesis is to show that the Eleusinian feast was originally identical with the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. The relationship between Jerusalem and the Jews at Elephantiné as to sacrificial services is discussed by **Hoonacker**. **König's** *Antisem. Hauptdogma* is a series of studies in various biblical questions. He discusses in ZATW 35 the relation between the old Babylonian divine name *Ya-u* and the OT Yahweh, and holds that they are not related. He relates Aschima with Seimios. He also combats the assertion that Yahweh is a moon god. In discussing the Elephantiné texts he finds polytheistic conceptions in the words 'elâhîn, Yahu, 'Ashim-Bethel, and 'Anath-Bethel. **Langdon** presents most interesting material and some new ideas for OT religion. **Morgenstern** shows that these festivals were adopted by the Hebrews from the Canaanites. In volume seven of the **Myth. Bibl.** we have two

essays, first, "Studien zur Idee des Hirtengottes," by E. Siecke, and then, "Sneewittchenstudien," by E. Böklen. Offord thinks the Crescent Venus to be the morning and evening star. He also collects evidence to show that Lot was worshipped in Palestine in Christian times. Paton shows how deeply the religion of Yahweh was affected by the conquest of Canaan. Pedersen's book is not as complete as one would desire. Peters thinks that *רחם* indicates violent and not quiet motion. The *Gottingen Quellen* for the History of Religion is a magnificent undertaking. Schftelowitz discusses the common custom of slaughtering a cock on the eve of the Day of Atonement in certain Jewish circles. The cock was offered to propitiate a demon. The excellent *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* reached in 1914 its fifth volume. It was thus almost completed. Schroeder answers his question positively. The discussion of Wolff contains nothing new. Wood gives us the best and most systematic treatment of the religion of Canaan, previous to the Hebrew Conquest, which exists in English. Indispensable for students of OT religion.

#### 6. ARCHAEOLOGY AND GENERAL CULTURE

- CLAY, A. T., "The Son's Portion in the Oldest Laws known," ET 18, 40-42.  
 FROTHINGHAM, A. L., "Ancient Orientation Unveiled," AJA 21, 55-76, etc.  
 GASTER, M., "Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets," PSBA 37, 96-107, etc.  
 GINZEL, F. K., *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie*, 3 Bd. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914, pp. vii + 445.  
 GRAY, G. B., "Children named after Ancestors in the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine and Assuan," *Festschr.* Wellhausen, pp. 161 ff.  
 HÄNSLER, H., "Die Lampe ihre Bedeutung und Entwicklung in Palästina," *Das heilige Land*, 58, 13-22, 79-87, 167-175.  
 HILL, G. F., *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*. London: Br. Museum, 1914, pp. cxiv + 363, pls. 42.  
 IDELSOHN, A. Z., *Hebraisch-Orientalischer Melodienschatz*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1914, Vol. 1, pp. xi + 158.  
 JOHNS, C. H. W., *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People*. London: British Academy, 1914, pp. xv + 96.  
 KENNEDY, A. R. S., "Weights and Measures of the Hebrews," Jr. Tr. Victoria Inst. 47, 277-299.  
 LEHMANN-HAUPT, C. F., "Historisch-Metrologische Forschungen," *Klio* 14, 345-376.  
 LITTMANN, E., "Die Heilige Zahl Vierzig," OLZ 36, 221-224.  
 PETERS, J. P., "The Cock in the OT," JBL 33, 152.



- PILTER, W. T., "The Manna of the Israelites," PSBA 39, 155-167, 187-206.
- RICHARDSON, E. C., *Biblical Libraries*. Princeton: U. Press, 1914, pp. 252.
- ROBINSON, W. H., "A newly discovered inscribed Mosaic near Mt. Nebo," AJA 18, 492-498.
- SCHAEFFER, H. *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*. New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1915, pp. xiv + 245.
- WEBSTER, H., *Rest Days*, New York: Macmillan, 1916, pp. xiv + 325.
- WILSON, J. B., "Lead and Tin in Ancient Times," PTR 15, 443-450.
- WILSON, J. B., "The Use of Iron in Ancient Times," PTR 15, 250-276.

In an elaborate series of articles in which the orientation of the different ancient nations is studied, **Frothingham** discusses that of the Jews. He places them among those nations whose orientation is eastern. **Gaster** describes sixteen phylacteries used for the purpose of averting evil or healing sickness. The third volume of **Ginsel's** work (1914) studies the methods of reckoning time among Macedonians, the peoples of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, etc. **Gray** finds in the Elephantiné papyri the earliest evidence of the existence among Jews of the practice of giving to children the name of an ancestor, and particularly that of the grandfather. Vol. 1 of **Idelsohn's** work is entitled, *Gesänge der Jemenischen Juden*. He finds melody in the Bible in a well-organized form. **Johns'** book is the Schweich Lectures for 1912. An excellent study. **Kennedy's** article is good and detailed. **Lehmann-Haupt** shows that Hebrew weights and measures correspond to those of the Pheidonian system. **Peters'** shows that according to Rabbinic interpretation the cock is mentioned twice in OT. **Pilter** attempts to indentify manna as a combination of tamarisk exudation and lichen. **Richardson** gives a general account of the libraries of antiquity, including Palestine. In his discussion of the social legislation of the primitive Semites, **Schaeffer** gives due consideration to that of the Hebrews. **Webster's** book is a study in early law and morality, in which holy days and evil days are discussed at length. Great institutions of modern civilization have their roots in the beliefs, customs, and superstitions of early society. **Wilson** finds the earliest evidence of lead in Canaan to be somewhere between 1400 and 1000 B.C., but finds bronze in Canaan as early as 2500 B.C. The use of iron in Canaan he finds not to have been common till about 1000 B.C., although iron was known several centuries earlier.

# CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASSYRIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

By STEPHEN LANGDON, Oxford University

## 1. *ba'ālu* to shine.

THIS verb has been ordinarily confused in the lexicons with its homonym *ba'ālu*, be great. See MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon* 138. The Sumerian equivalent is *kūr*, II Raw. 44 No. 2, 9, *kūr* = *ba'ālu* and CT. 12, 25a 14, *kūr* = *ba'-ālum*. The phonetic value *kur*, *gur* for the sign LAGAB is clearly to be supplied in the break at the top of CT. 12, 25. For *kur* to shine, be warm, see *Sumerian Grammar* 225 *kur* 2. The verb has been recognized and its meaning defined by R. C. THOMPSON, *Astrological Reports*, Vol. II, No. 30. THOMPSON identified the following verbal forms; permansive *ba'il* "it glows," 1 prs. *iba'il*; prt. *ib'il*; I<sup>2</sup> prt. *ibta'il*. THOMPSON (p. 118) gave the infinitive as *ba'ilu* but all the forms *ba'il* adduced by him as infinitives are either permansives or erroneous readings. Other examples not cited by THOMPSON are the following: Venus *ba'-i-lat*, glowed, *Babyloniaca*, III 198, 21; Jupiter *ba'-il*, III Raw. 59a 41; Jupiter *ib-il-ma* shone forth, arose, BA. III 232 Rev. 3; see also WEIDNER, OLZ, 1913, 212, note 1. The root appears to be 𒀭𒀪, but it has not been explained by comparative philology and remains obscure.

## 2. *EN E-NU-ŠUB* = *šipat bit pašāri*?

A great many conjectures have been suggested for the difficult title of an extensive series of Sumerian incantations, *én é-nu-RU*. The passage upon which the writer based his reading *sub*, *šub* for the sign *RU* is *Rev. d'Assyriologie* 12, 34, 13, *nu-su-ub-ba*. The term is there employed to explain *é-nun-na* = *kummu*, chamber of rituals of atonement, see *ibid.*, p. 40, note 7, and *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 70, note 5. The Sumerian reading *é-nu-sub* appears to be settled by the passage cited. The Semitic rendering is adduced from CT. 24, 42, 114, a passage which has escaped the attention of Assyriologists. Here the syllabary has a list of the titles of the god *Ea*, patron of incantation. From CT. 24, 27, 7 the text is readily restored:

[<sup>d</sup>én é] *nu-sub* = (<sup>ilu</sup>*Ea*) *ša pa-ša-[ri]*.

Ea as god of these incantations is "Ea of pardoning, Ea of atonement." Consequently *é-nu-sub* = *bit pašāri*, and *nu-sub* = *pašāru*. Consequently K. 5 in CT. 19, 30, Obv. III 6 is to be restored;

*én é-nu-sub* = *šīpat* [*ša bit pašāri*].

Although the syllabaries thus enable us to translate this hitherto mysterious phrase, nevertheless the Sumerian syntax and etymology are obscure. *nu-sub* may have two meanings *la kuppur* "not purified" and *la nadi*, or *la šumkut*, "not fallen, not in ruins." It is of course impossible to see how either "house not purified" or "house not in ruins" could by any possible linguistic process come to mean "house of atoning." In II Raw. 16, II 59 = AJSL. 28, 222, 52, *é-sub* = *bītu nadû*, "the ruined, abandoned house." Why should "house not in ruins" come to mean "house of the ritual of purification"? The term of comparison is wholly unknown to us owing to our ignorance of Sumerian religious practice and vernacular distortion of classical words. Nevertheless for practical purposes the difficulty is finally disposed of.

### 3. *GIS* = *rigmu*.

K. 4166, published by MEISSNER in his *supplement* pl. 7, has the unique entry *giš* = *rig-mu*. So unusual was this equation that the same scholar questioned its authenticity in his *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* 4007. The inference was, however, correct as will be seen from VIROLLEAUD, *Sin* 34, 21; — <sup>iu</sup>*Adad giš-šu RU-ma*, for the ordinary <sup>iu</sup>*Adad KA-šu RU-ma* = *rigim-šu iddi-ma*. Whether *giš* may not be here a confusion for *KAD*, Br. 2700 remains doubtful. In any case MEISSNER, SAI. 4012 is certainly to be corrected to (*sur* ?) = *rigmu*. This correction follows from CT. XI 25, 20 ff. where Syl. B is to be reconstructed in this manner.

*gu-um* : *LUM* : *hamāšu*

*gu-uz* : [*LUM*] : . . .

[*ga-ad* :] : *ki-tu-u*

[*su-ur* ? :] : *rig-mu*



4. *DURU*, to flood, immerse, in omen texts.

In my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 174, note 7, the Sumerian root *duru*, *dur*, to flood, to immerse was established. The root *dur* has been partially fixed in this sense in *Sumerian Grammar* 212 and confirmed by a Berlin syllabary cited by DELITZSCH, *Sumerisches Glossar* 151, (*du-ru*) = *raṭbu*, watered. In addition to the discussion in my previous note further evidence now supports the statement. ERNEST WEIDNER in his *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie* has published a remarkable astrolab and hemerology which carries in one line the following equation. <sup>gi</sup>*apin dur-dur-ru-ge* = <sup>is</sup>*apinnê irrahḥaṣu*, "the water-wheels will be flooded." See also CT. 19, 31a.25, *dūr-dūr-ru* = *rahāṣu ṣa aṣābi*.

The object of all technical details of this kind is, of course, to enable us to translate the texts and in this case we are led straightway to the elucidation of a *crux* in omen literature. *du-ru* occurs in the following liver omens; —

*ṣumma zihu (Di-ḥu) manzaza innammir ri-bu zihu rabu-ū*  
*DU-RU Puratti arik ra-bu u na-pa-ṣu ṣa ma-'di-e.*

"If a *zihu*<sup>1</sup> be seen on the "station"<sup>2</sup> there will be quaking; if the *zihu* be large there will be flooding of the Euphrates; if it be long there will be increasing and expansion of fortunes." BOISSIER, *Documents Assyriens*, II, 15.

*ṣumma ina arki GAR-TAB paḍanu ṣakin imitta ṣêru kima "titti nasiḥ-ma ina libbi-ṣū zihu te-mir u ṣu-lul miḫti umman rubi ū-lu DU-RU ina nâri.*

"If behind the *GAR-TAB*<sup>3</sup> a path be laid and on the right (of the path) the flesh be pulled in the shape of a fig tree, and in it a *zihu* be hidden and shadowed there will be downfall of the prince's army or drowning in the river." CT. 20, 32, 67.

This Sumerian word might be rendered in these cases by *riḥṣu*, flood, heavy rain, but a parallel passage in an oil omen text has *DU-RI* which seems to indicate that the word was Semiticised as *duru*, *duri*, *dura*.

<sup>1</sup> *Zihu* generally indicates rains, floods, in hepatoscopy, and certainly indicates something like canal, furrow, blister.

<sup>2</sup> Probably some kind of mark appearing on the liver.

<sup>3</sup> Part of the liver.

*šumma šammu ana IV-šu raman-šu izûz DU-RI ummani-ia nakri idâk.*

"If the oil divides itself into four parts there will be drowning of my army, my enemy will slay (them)." CT. V 4, 26.

The previous interpretations of these omens by FOSSEY, JASTROW, HUNGER and BOISSIER are to be revised in this sense.

5. *aban*PA = *ia'ertu*, *ia'artu*, *ia'âru*, red coral.

The Sumerian term for some precious stone *aban*PA occurs in the late period of Assyrian literature. Its Semitic rendering is now known to be *iaertu*. This results from the Berlin variant of the poem "The Descent of Ishtar" published by EBELING, *Religiöse Texte aus Assur*, No. 1. The London text IV Raw. 31, Rev. 32 reads;—

*aban askuppati za'-i-na ša aban*PA-*INEŠ*. For this the variant Rev. 27 has *ak-su-pa-te zu'-in ia-e-ri-te*.

"Smite thou the stone door-sills which are of *iaertu* stones."

The singular of the plural *iaerête* is probably *iaertu*. This now recalls two passages in omen texts;—

"*šumma ina libbi ME-NI zihu nadi-ma ina libbi-ša UD kima aban*PA *ušanaddi abnê izannun*."

"If within the *ME-NI* a *zihu* be placed and within it (i.e. the *zihu*) an *UD* like the *PA* stone be laid it will rain stones (i.e. it will hail). BOISSIER, DA. 217, 7.

*šumma ina imni ši zihu nadi-ma ina libbi-šu UD kima a-a-âr-ti ušanaddi abnê izannun*.

"If at the right of the *ŠI* a *zihu* be placed and within it an *UD* like a *ia'artu* be laid it will hail." CT. 28, 44, 13.

These parallels shew that *aban*PA = *ia'artu* or *ia'rtu*, obviously identical with *iaertu*. The masculine form of this word *iaaru*, *ia'aru* occurs in THUREAU-DANGIN's *Sargon*, l. 386. The line describes the garments of the gods of Muṣaṣir *ša niṣhi huraši ia-ar huraši šibiṭ-ṣunu . . . šubbutu*, whose hems were fastened with disks of gold and *ia'ar* stones set in gold. In PSBA. 1914, 33 the writer identified *ia'aru* with the Aramaic יִהְרָא which occurs only in the Targum and from its apparent connection with the root יָהַר, to shine, the word has been rendered by "sparkling gem." DALMAN, *Ara-*

*mäisch-Neuhebraisches Wörterbuch* 170 pointed this word falsely יִהְרָא. Since it is obviously a loan-word from the Assyrian *īā'aru*, only *īōhrā* is admissible, and is correctly adhered to by LEVY and JASTROW in their lexicons. The word occurs in the Targums on Gen. 6, 16, Cant. 7, 2, Lam. 4, 7 and Esther 1, 4. Since the word was unfamiliar to the Western Semites they substituted in some manuscripts יְהִרְיָן for יִהְרָא.

The Targum on Gen. 6, 16 explains no word in the Hebrew text and has simply, "Go to the river Pishon and take therefrom a יִהְרָא". The Pishon is usually connected with the river Indus.

The Targum on Lam. 4, 7 yields some definite help in our attempt to define the stone in question. The Hebrew text "They were more red in body than פְּיִנִים" is explained by "they were more red than יִהְרָא." Therefore the Jewish commentator regarded *īōhrā* as a synonym of *p'ninim*, and the passage shews that both stones were red. But *p'ninim* was apparently a stone unknown to the ancient translators of the Old Testament. "Red Coral" is the meaning preferred by modern scholars, see TOY on Proverbs 3, 15.

The Targum on Cant. 7, 2 throws some light on the problem. No word of the Hebrew text is explained but the scribe wrote, "Their sons were fair as the *īōhrin* which were placed in the holy crown which Beseleel made." This reference to the diadem of the high priest contains the only known reference to precious stones in its fabrication. *īōhrin* apparently means "gems" simply in this passage. From the Targums not much can be gleaned.

The earliest known reference to the *PA* stones occurs in an inscription of Gudea, Statue H, col. II 2, the *PA* stone imported from Magan. But here *PA* appears to be an error for *KAL* (*esi*) or the black diorite of the Gudea inscriptions, cf. St. A III 1; B VII 10; St. C III 15. The passage may be dismissed as a source in the discussion. In rituals it occurs in a specific sense. ZIMMERN, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 112, 12, <sup>aban</sup>šubā <sup>aban</sup>PA <sup>aban</sup>AN-GUG-ME, i. e., onyx, *īa'artu* and corneline (?). On the same page, l. 8, it occurs again with onyx. *Ibid.*, p. 182, 10 <sup>aban</sup>PA <sup>aban</sup>samtu, i. e., *īa'artu* and porphyry. *Shurpu* VIII 70 <sup>aban</sup>PA is preceded by <sup>aban</sup>KU-MI-NA, i. e., red breccia, a rock employed by Nebuchadnezzar for pavement slabs. See VAB. IV 133, note 1.



The evidence points to a precious stone of reddish hue and discovered only in the late period. Why did the Semites select the ideogram *PA* and the word *ârtu*, *ia'artu*, *ia'ertu*, *ia'aru* for this stone? The obvious fact is that *PA* = *âru*, *ârtu*, branch, twig. The <sup>aban</sup>*PA* is the stone which has branches like a tree, that is apparently the coral, more specifically the red coral.<sup>4</sup> The form *ia-er-te* points to the root יער and the form *a-a-ar-tu* perhaps to יער. *âru*, twig and *âru* forest are, therefore, from the same root. The Aramaic loan-word *ioh<sup>h</sup>ra*, also means red coral if our reasoning be correct and if we may argue from the Targum on Lam. 4, 7 the Hebrew *p<sup>h</sup>nînim* also means red coral. BICKEL's emendation of Lam. 4, 7 becomes now extremely probable, "They were more red than branches of coral (מַעְצֵי פְּנִינִים). To anticipate an objection to the derivation of *ia'aru* etc., from יער, which may be made on the basis of the Talmudic form יוֹהֲרָא it should be kept in mind that the Aramaic word is a loan-word and the ה reproduces the rough onglide between the vowels of *ia-a-ru* > *ia'aru* precisely as in case of the word Abraham from Babylonian *Aba-ra'am*, see the *Expository Times*, Vol. XXI 90. This is apparently the earliest known word for coral and means originally "stone branch." The Babylonian word has invariably no determinative as has the Sumerian ideogram <sup>aban</sup>*PA*. The Babylonians spoke of coral as "the branch" simply; as such it appears in the Talmud and certainly existed in Aramaic especially in Syriac, centuries before the Talmud was written.

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the *corallium rubrum* supplied to the ancients exclusively from the Mediterranean sea.

## REVIEWS

*Précis d'Allographie Assyro-Babylonienne.* By J. Halévy, Paris, 1912.

There was a time when most of the Assyriologists, including Delitzsch, accepted Halévy's hypothesis that Sumerian texts were another way of writing (allography) the Semitic Babylonian (or Akkadian). One by one, they abandoned this theory but its originator remained faithful to the end with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The *Précis d'Allographie* is an able book written with true Gallic clearness, the work of a wonderful philologist. Were Halévy still among us, he would rather be criticized at length, even sharply, than dismissed with a short notice, and we trust that we are not trespassing upon forbidden ground, if we are led to condemn the work of one who cannot answer and who dwells now in a world where there is no Sumerian question.

Halévy maintains that the Sumerian question is purely linguistic. He admits that other races, may have inhabited Babylonia before or with the Semites, but declares that they have left no traces. Semitisms underlie the syllabaries and therefore the whole Sumerian literature. Without Semitisms, the birth of the cuneiform writing and literature cannot be explained. Cuneiform writing was pictorial. In order to teach the ideographs, the scribes gave to each of them a name (phonème); the phonetic values of the sign were more or less developed concepts. For instance the name of Gilgamish was written giš-du-bar which was read idlu ša šapti šapliti, the lord of the low lip, an epithet given to the hero because of his scornful words to Ishtar. It was written giš-bil, which was read abu-gamiš, father-rower because he was the discoverer of maritime navigation; he had another title giš-gi-maš which meant the lord of the oar (Halévy does not give the Semitic reading of that ideogram). The author gives a number of etymologies of Sumerian words and shows that they are really Semitic. He particularly tries to show that the numerals are Semitic.

This may be very ingenious but it reminds us of Moliere's saying "In it, reasoning has banished reason." We do not grant that the Sumerian question is purely linguistic. Philology is an unsafe guide. It lead Max Müller astray in his theory of the origin of the Aryans. It has landed a number of Bible critics, especially that great T. K. Cheyne into the slough of aberration. There are traces of the Sumerians; M. Halévy himself, saw the statues of Gudea in Paris and the stone tablets from Telloh. We all agree that there are Semitisms in Sumerian and that cuneiform writing was pictorial at first but we do not see why the scribes should have given to the signs a meaningless name (the phonème); we maintain that the phonème of a simple sign was the primary meaning of the sign in Sumerian. M. Halévy knew Pehlvi and he himself wrote about that language, *Revue Sémitique* 12, 165, "Pehlvi is an artificial idiom of a literary class," but that literary class as he himself says was composed of Aramæan scribes; they did not use ideograms or figurative phonograms; the Iranian language was a foreign language to them although they knew it well. The day may come when some Parsi scholar unwilling to admit that his race had anything to do with Semitic culture will find good arguments for denying the existence of Arameans. He will find a good model of dialectic in Halévy's book.

But for any one who has no thesis to prove, there is no Pehlvi question and there is — whatever Halévy would have said — no Sumerian question. We may say of *la question sumérienne, solvitur ambulando*, as every Sumerologist, great or small, knows well.

Let us come to a few particular cases. Granted that Gilgamish's name can be interpreted as Halévy says, how could he explain that the Semitic texts never give his real name but (according to Halévy) always an epithet. We all know that the true pronunciation has been preserved by a Hellenist of Babylonia as Gilgamos. Moreover, the epic is metrical, for although we know less of Babylonian metrics than we should like to, there is no doubt that the name GIS-DU-BAR cannot be read in the epic as Halévy said, without making the rhythm impossible.

And then, if Halévy was right, why should we have bilingual texts? How could any one explain the gradual evolution and decrease of Sumerian literature? Had Sumerian been allographic, its



complexity should have increased with the development of culture. Why do we notice the opposite? Why is there such a thing as artificial Sumerian in later ages, reminding us of Medieval Latin and sometimes of dog-Latin? Why did the Hittite lexicographers take the trouble to give a Sumerian as well as a Semitic equivalent of their own language? How can we explain that both a decimal (Semitic) and a sexagesimal (Sumerian) numeration are found in our texts? Halévy himself, admits that it is not easy, to say the least, to discover in Sumerian numerals relics of Semitic forms.

A thorough criticism of Halévy's book would take volumes. It is not necessary. The work of that great philologist remains like a premature ruin, where many will in course of time discover forsaken treasures. Few people remember against Dugald Stewart that he wrote an essay showing that Sanskrit was an artificial language based on Greek. We have forgotten that Bishop Huet wrote much on the then orthodox view that Adam spoke Hebrew. The world will forget that General Frey ever wrote "*L'Annamite, mere des langues*" and two other books on the subject. We find it an unpleasant task to put Halévy in the same class. Halévy's vast erudition and industry deserved a better fate. Why did he not continue in the field of purely Semitic studies? Our only comfort is that in a way, his work will not have been in vain. Where he has failed, men less qualified than he will fear to follow him. If Halévy had been a lesser man, the Sumerian question would not be settled.

JOHN A. MAYNARD.

*Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions; Part I, Sumerian Religious Texts.* By George A. Barton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918, pp. 67, pls. xli.

Dr. Barton has placed Sumerologists under lasting obligation to him by this publication, transliteration, and translation of eleven interesting and important religious texts. One of them (No. 1) he considers "the oldest known religious text from Babylonia, and perhaps the oldest in the world." This, as well as all other texts in this volume, is in the University Museum at Philadelphia, and was found by Dr. Haynes at Nippur. The nature of the script confirms Dr. Barton's early date. He conjectures that it was "written in the reign of Naram Sin." No. 8 gives another account of the creation of

man and the development of city life and of agriculture. There are twenty-three autographed texts, and sixteen photographic reproductions. At the end of the book is a list of corrections which unfortunately can be very considerably increased; for example, 29, 15 omits "thou art"; 39, 4 omit hyphen between *šu* and *mu*; 40, 10 should be *šag-ga-ba-ra*; 47, 32, omit hyphen between *dù* and *a*; 47, 33, insert -a- between *ta* and *aš*; 50, 13, *d* is omitted from *en*; 51, 6, *d* is omitted from *i*; 51, 9, read *a-nun-na*; etc. It is a great pity that the proof reading was so poorly done.

There are several very interesting points that should be noticed in these texts. In No. 8, the new creation myth, the statement that mankind came into being as a result of the physical union of a god and goddess should throw some light upon the interpretation of Gen. 4: 1. But what is very valuable for the reconstruction of a disputed point in Babylonian history is the evidence of No. 9 that Ibi-Sin, the last King of Ur, was apparently not taken captive to Elam as Sayce, and, following him, Langdon and Clay say.

Barton returns on page 26 f. to the generally accepted theory of the deification of Babylonian kings. First, it should be said that he misses the reviewer's point in JAOS 36, 360-380, which is to the effect that up till then no finally convincing evidence was extant to prove the reality of the worship of Babylonian kings whether before or after their death. The point he makes here was satisfactorily answered in the reviewer's article, namely, that since Dun in Dungi's name is the name of a deity the *dingir* which is found with the name of Dungi can be satisfactorily explained as being used because of the presence of the divine element in Dungi's name. A man whose name is St. George is not therefore to be considered a canonized saint. But the nearest approach to evidence of emperor worship in Babylonia occurs in l. 9 of this inscription, "A faithful hero (e.g. Dungi), a sun-god, who art just." But here again, since Utu (Šamaš) is the god of justice, *par excellence*, the epithet, *dutu*, sun-god, applied to Dungi may be interpreted as a compliment to Dungi's justice — applying to him the very name of the god of justice. Of course, the rendering "sun-god" instead of "a sun-god" is equally correct. The other point which Barton thinks "a powerful argument for emperor worship in Ur" is 51, 9 where Ibi-Sin is called *dingir*. But, as the above-named article shows, *dingir* was used

similarly to the way in which we use "lord," and would be a very appropriate title for a king.

No. 11 is an interesting fragment of a text, published by Langdon in his *Babylonian Liturgies*, and makes the fourth fragment, besides Langdon's text. Barton objects to Langdon's title of this text, "Liturgy to Nintud on the Creation of Man and Woman," and says that he sees no allusion to the creation of man, but the nature of the text he does not attempt to define.

Dr. Barton's rendering of these difficult unilingual Sumerian texts shows a great deal of work and much ingenuity.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

*Aram and Israel or the Aramaeans in Syria and Mesopotamia.* By E. G. H. Kraeling, Columbia University Press, New York, 1918.

Old Testament history, especially in the patriarchal era and during the royal period, is closely related to the rise and fall of the Aramaeans. We needed a book giving us a comprehensive and accurate survey of the political history of Aram. Dr. Kraeling has written this book for us. His point of view, needless to say, is scientific and modern; with a growing number of scholars, he refuses to bow, either to a timid conservatism or to an effete hypercriticism. Although a pupil and a friend of A. T. Clay, he refuses to accept the "Amurru" theory, brilliant but evanescent.

This work is well planned. After a survey of the geographical background, the author studies the Aramaean migration, the foundation of the Harran state, the invasion of Palestine, the rise of Damascus, the Mesopotamian kingdoms, the North Syrian principalities, especially Samal, Hamath, Laash, the Vannic kings, the last days of Damascus, and the Assyrian conquest.

We note with pleasure that the author rejects the identification of the Hebrews with the Habiri, who were largely a non-semitic people (pp. 34, 35), and that he acknowledges that the Hebrew people were a racial mixture (p. 36). He gives us a good etymology of Jacob as *Ya-agabi*, "Ya is the reward" or "Ya has rewarded" (p. 28). This would be another instance of the worship of Yau or Yahu before Moses and quite in accord with the theory set forth by us in the periodical ATR, I, 93-95. He accepts the equation Arauna = Varuna (p. 34); he sheds an interesting light on the mi-



grations of Abraham (p. 29, 32) and on Beth-Eden (Bit-Adini) in Amos I<sup>5</sup>. Dr. Kraeling tackles the great problem Benhadad-Hadadezer. He takes issue with Winckler, Zimmern and Langdon (whom he does not name) and accepts a modified form of Luckenbill's theory (pp. 76, 77).

Dr. Kraeling's book is a mass of information; he has neglected no important source of information and has preserved all through a painstaking study a sound balance of judgment. We shall criticize only a few details. The author seems to prefer the meaning "highlanders" for *Aramu*. We think that the translation "exalted ones" given as second best (p. 22) is better. Cf. the use of similar terms Arya, Zulu, etc. Something might have been said about *Suti* and Seth (on p. 14). We doubt whether one can make pillars of human heads (p. 60, 69); heaps or pyramids would be better. We do not like the use of the form Rezin (p. 109, 117) evidently a scribal error for Rezon (*Raşunnu*), (Cf., pp. 48, 49). Aushpia (p. 11) should be read Ushpia. Some very important notes (e.g., p. 48, n. 2) should have been incorporated in the text. Parts of the text should have gone into foot-notes; for instance the reference made on p. 16 to Hommel's theory of Gir-su (in Lagash) containing the element Qir.

In spite of these minor defects, the work is of first class value and will be indispensable to any one who wants to make an intelligent study of the history of Israel.

JOHN A. MAYNARD.

*The Philosophy of the Bible.* By David Neumark. Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Company, 1918, xlii + 326.

The author says in his preface that "this book attempts the first scientific and popular presentation of the history of thought in biblical Judaism." With this object in view, and after an introductory chapter on Biblical Criticism, published before in the "American Jewish Chronicle," 1916, he divides his "history of the spiritual development of Judaism" into four periods, treated in as many chapters. In the first chapter he traces the idea of God from the earliest times down to the time of Moses; in the second, from Sinai to Deuteronomy; in the third, from Deuteronomy to Ezra; and in the fourth, from Ezra to the second century A.D., in detail, and to the thirteenth century in outline.

Professor Neumark bases his discussion upon Jewish literature as chronologically arranged by modern critics, but he feels free to differ from the majority of biblical scholars in many details, and, in particular, as to the usual opinion that prophetic Judaism was opposed to official Judaism, and that there is a great gap between biblical and Rabbinical Judaism. Both of these opinions he has shown to be without solid foundation. He has also, in another place in this work, added the weight of his opinion to the belief, in spite of many modern students of the prophets, that the prophets never condemned sacrifices as such. There are, however, other places where the author does not seem to be so successful as a guide. His assumption that E is earlier than J and that both are older than Amos; the ease with which he finds sexual motives wherever he seeks them; his assertion, without proof, that Isaiah coined the word Yahweh Zebaoth; and that the names Elohim and Yahweh indicate "rigid justice" and "absolute mercy" respectively, and symbolized two rival schools, cannot be passed without a protest.

The book gives evidence of great learning on the part of its author, but there is such lack of system and connected reasoning that the treatment is very difficult to follow. This is partly due to the fact that the author is not at home in the English language. The reasoning is not only not clear, but the language in which it is expressed is so crude that it is very irritating. There is not a page in the book where there is not a serious blunder in English. This is made still worse by very careless proofreading. It is a pity that the work while in manuscript was not given to an English reader for correction, and that the proof was not carefully read. Dr. Neumark's learning and grasp of his subject deserve a more attractive presentation. However, the book is a mine of information and of freshness of viewpoint.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

*A Sumerian-Babylonian Sign List.* By Samuel A. B. Mercer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918, pp. xi, pls. 244, \$6.00 net.

Although Assyriology is a new science it has been handicapped by traditions. One of them is the custom of transliterating Sumerian signs into late Assyrian forms, a pedagogical and scientific error still committed by Delitzsch in his *Glossar*. Another bane of Assyriology



has been the totally unpractical character of most of the dictionaries and sign lists published hitherto, made worse at times by the wretched penmanship of the author.

Dr. Mercer's book is free from these defects; everything is clear, the margins are large, the paper good, the handwriting excellent, and the signs are classified independently of late Assyrian forms. An Assyrian sign list is of course given.

There are a few misprints and errors. P. IX, l. 7, from bottom, read ideographic; p. XI, l. 13, read Kudurru; p. 46, l. 5 instead of hut si read ū; l. 4, instead of hu+ si+ a, read u-a.

These are however, minor blemishes and this fine piece of work which does honor both to its author and to the publisher will be an indispensable and welcome tool for all Babylonian scholars.

JOHN A. MAYNARD.

*Accidence of Hebrew Grammar.* By Henry A. Coffey, S. J. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1918, pp. vi + 113. \$1.25 net.

Professor Coffey has compiled a very attractive and most useful little book on Hebrew Grammar, with exercises. The type, both Hebrew and English, is clear and sharp, and the soft white paper is a pleasure to the eye. In his attempt to simplify, and make attractive, the study of Hebrew, the author has rightly omitted all complicated and uncertain matters, and has emphasized the verb, which is the backbone of the language. After every section of grammatical explanation comes an excellently chosen exercise which serves to consolidate and test the student's knowledge step by step.

There are very few points to criticize in this excellent little book. The author follows the MT, and yet prints a *sere* instead of a *pathah* in the Imperf. 3 f. and 2 f. plural and in the Imperat. 2 f. plural of the Niphal. He omits the Absol. Infin. of the Hophal, and prints the Per. Pronoun, 2 f. plural, with a *sere* instead of a *segol*. On page 91, line 5, ם should have but one diacritical point. In translating the 2d sing. of verbs "thou" is much more appropriate, more Biblical, and less confusing than "you." If "thou" were used, there would be no need of such phrases as, "You (sg. m.) will be killed." It is the opinion of the reviewer that a few explanatory remarks with the table of verbal suffixes on pages 84-85 would have been very clarifying.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.



*Alternative Readings in the Hebrew of the Books of Samuel.* By Otto H. Boström. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1918, p. 60.

The author tells us that his purpose in this work has been to show: That the marginal notes commonly called *Kerē* are usually not corrections, but were made rather to record variant readings; that the consonant text frequently contains a combination of two alternative readings, even where the Massoretic margin is silent; and that certain general rules have been followed in the making of these combinations. He has made Baer's edition the basis of his work, but has included some cases of *Kerē* and *Kethib* not included therein. In spite of the fact that the work will be found exceedingly useful in class-room and by private students of the text of Samuel, yet it is a pity that more care was not used in matters of technical accuracy, a lack of which is very quickly observed, with due results, by students. For example, the author transliterates כְּתִיב by *Ketib*, instead of *Kethib*; he often prints נא without the *makkēph* with *segol* instead of with *sere*; he renders I Sam. 4: 13, "Eli was sitting upon his seat," instead of, "upon the seat"; and he has allowed many typographical errors to pass into the text. Nevertheless, the student of Hebrew will be thankful to Dr. Boström for the convenient collection of variants in the text of the Books of Samuel.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

*Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal en de Babylonische Bronnen.* By H. Th. Obbink. Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1917, pp. 163.

After an introduction of orientation, the author gives his own translation of Gen. 2: 4b-3: 24, and then discusses the paradise account, first, as a story, and, then, in the light of Babylonian material. Dr. Obbink has canvassed the extensive literature on this subject and has used his material in a very telling way. There is nothing original in the work, but the different views held about the problem of paradise and its rivers are discussed with much keenness and insight. Sayce's interesting reading of *ēdu* or *ēd*, "inundation," in 2: 6, seems to have escaped Dr. Obbink's attention.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.